THE WOMAN'S

DREADNOUGHT

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MONTESSORI METHOD: Interview with Miss Muriel Matters

It is only by seeing a man or woman at work that we really gain any insight into the personality. By that we must not conclude that the wage-slave is defined, for by work I mean *the work* which absorbs us and which we have been at liberty to choose, if we belong to the fortunate of this world.

This opportunity was afforded me recently with regard to Miss Muriel Matters, who has undertaken to train some of the children at the Mothers' Arms, in the Montessori method. When I arrived five children, between the ages of three and five, were at lunch. Although only a week under her charge, when Miss Matters said, "Pick up your crusts, Freddie," the little chap did so without a murmur, and cleared them away into the waste-paper basket. "You see that is how we teach them to be neat," Miss Matters explained, and went on to say that the right time to take the children in hand is when they are about two and half years old, up to seven, otherwise the lack of care for the budding intellect is apt to make children impatient and naughty. "The stronger the individuality, the stronger the rebellion." Young lives ought to have harmony and joy, these are necessary to their proper development. School life and usually home life also up to the present have not taken this into account. Suppression for the mere sake of obtaining external order and discipline quite regardless of the soul and its many wants is the rule. Miss Matters said she felt the world had no place for children, it was always for grown-ups; high tables, high chairs, hooks, etc., and the eternal warning of the mother or teacher, "don't touch that, and don't do that."

In the Montessori atmosphere everything is made for the child. Its individuality is catered for, the same material does not appeal to each child, therefore it is shown various things until it becomes absorbed in what really satisfies that particular child's nature. The material is not like toys, useless, it is most educative, and teaches children to lace their boots, button and hook their little garments. Not in the old disagreeable way; but by means of a game, the sense of form, touch, etc., are developed, and this also helps to cultivate a love of the beautiful.

"How did you come to realise that the Montessori method was the 'thing' worth working for?" I asked, for I saw from her conversation, from her devotion to the children, her absolute pleasure in it all, that she had found it to be all-absorbing. And then Miss Matters told me that she was an Australian, that she had come to England some years ago on the look out all the time for the all-satisfying. She had lectured on Whitman and Ibsen, joined the woman's movement, and become a member of the Women's Freedom League.

Though these interests seemed worth cultivating, she had always had a feeling of the futility of work which began after the human being had formed for good or evil. In Australia, in our own country, she had seen the proof of her fears,

MURIEL MATTERS

women, whether enfranchised or not, had proved more or less a disappointment; they were still a prey to the agents of reaction: conscription, war, etc. Why? Because there was no foundation, because we must work through every phase, win every liberty and concession by our own efforts, so that they become part of us. "I do not believe in the sudden betterment of social evils," Miss Matters said.

How, then was this falling away from ideals to be prevented in future? During the Dublin strike, when Miss Matters had stayed some weeks in Dublin, she had met and worked with Larkin and Connolly. Larkin had spoken to her about the Montessori method, in which she was already very much interested. She had tried to procure a teacher for him, but failed, the very lack of teachers, combined with her conviction that "the thing" in life was to begin with the human being as near the source as possible decided her to go to Spain and learn from Madame Montessori what she had evolved from various and varied experiences. Politics and political reform are full of attraction and offer a short road to fame, but they will never succeed until we have harmony, were Miss Matters' conclusions. Inner harmony and inner peace are necessary to the prevention of war.

What has machinery done? Instead of being a boon to those who could afford to benefit by labour-saving devices, it had rendered these helpless because women and men were not ready to enjoy the liberty afforded them by the saving of time. It is so with political freedom and freedom from poverty. The world must be ready to make good use of the freedom or ease we may gain in this way. These were Miss Matters' observations, and although there is very much to be said for them, I am too impatient to allow myself to be convinced. I want liberty and equality for all now. I do not want to wait for the children of the next generation to grow up. When I said the mothers of this generation might be taught, Miss Matters thoroughly agreed—she would love to meet and speak to the mother of each child under her care. Mothers usually thought the bodily wants were all that children required, and seldom found time or thought for their psychical needs. Miss Matters began her teaching at the Mothers' Arms by a lecture to the staff and the mothers of the nursery children.

Present-day school life and home life are anti-social, Miss Matters thinks. And from her present pupils, who, as yet, never care to leave their "treasures" out of their hands for fear another may "grab" them, I saw that the Montessori method which teaches confidence in each other, attention to our neighbour's wants, co-ordination both of thought and action is a method which will help to make anarchy possible—and to produce Bernard Shaw's superman—but when?

Madame Montessori will not always be so happy in her disciples as she has been in this instance, for from this chat with Miss Matters I could see that she is a woman of culture who knows how to apply and develop these methods. She is thoroughly well-informed, and has such a soothing voice and manner that one must regret having outgrown the Montessori time of life.

The woman's movement needs more women like her!

M. O'C.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

SUFFRAGE VICTORY IN YUCATAN

Women in Yucatan, a Mexican State, have won the vote. They will be the first Spanish-speaking women in the world to gain political freedom.

We congratulate them! But is Great Britain to be left behind by every other nation?

VOTES, NOT BADGES

The *Daily Chronicle*, in a leading article dated October 31st, commenting upon the decision to confer distinctions upon the nearest women relatives of "fallen heroes," says that the step "meets with universal approval," but that the services of women as nurses, ambulance workers, and toilers for the national welfare at home should also be recognised directly.

For our part we look upon titles and distinctions as mere useless trash. We demand enfranchisement for all the women of the nation and remuneration equal to that of men for those who do paid work.

BRAVO, WOMEN VOTERS!

At the moment of writing it seems that in the Australian Referendum a majority will be cast against Conscription. We trust that it may be so, and send our message out across the ocean: "Bravo, Australian Democracy! Bravo, women voters! In this immeasurably tremendous issue you are proving worthy of your trust! Far-seeing Australian mothers, your children and your children's children will thank you for the votes you cast to-day."

WELSH MINERS AGAIN

The Welsh miners have opened a new chapter in industrial history by their decision to stop work on November 27th if the Government has not taken control of the food supplies by that date. It is such action by the organised workers for which we have been praying and the Government has been waiting. The Welsh miners won the Coal Act. We wish them God speed in their efforts to win the people's Food Charter.

The Scottish miners have also passed a resolution calling for the Government control of food and for a national conference of all Labour and progressive forces to decide how to carry their resolution into effect. Will the Scotsmen take the strong action upon which the Welsh have determined?

THE MINIMUM WAGE

Mr. Runciman, who seems to prefer any course but the one which is needful, has said that he is considering the introduction of a legal minimum wage. The Government's idea of what is necessary to the workers' standard of living is not inspiring. We must be on the alert or we shall find that if a minimum wage Bill be introduced it will be nothing better than a sheaf of Lloyd George Orders unacceptable to any workers and definitely prescribing lower wages for women than for men.

* * * *

The Ministry of Munitions is issuing notices calling for from 800 to 1,000 women munition workers each week. Presently, if the supply fails, there will be a demand for the conscription of women. The organisation of war goes on apace, but the situation is calling for the organisation of peace.

EARLY CLOSING ORDER.

"You can sell a glass of lemonade or a bottle of ginger beer till 12.30 p.m., but you must not sell a banana or any kind of fruit after 8 p.m." This is the warning given to a Bow shopkeeper by the police sergeant. The sergeant had his "doubts" about the sale of pastry. Bakers and chandlers shops must lock up at the regulation hours. "There is no question of having your door open and a light on!"

IMPORTANT

At its meeting, October 31st, the Parks Committee of the L.C.C. stated that following the decision of the Council of May 30th to issue no further permits for the sale of literature, as from September 30th, at meetings in parks and open spaces, a number of protests had been made and a representative deputation from societies received. The Committee decided not to recommend the Council to reconsider its decision.

We ask all our readers to write to their L.C.C. Members and demand that the permits shall be renewed.

G.B.S. ON LIFE.

At the King's Hall, on October 27th, Mr. Bernard Shaw spoke on "Life." He said that the two greatest evils in the world are Poverty and War and that the pangs of hunger and terror must be removed; he denounced any security from warfare bought at the price of "a fight to a finish."

The science of life is biology, it is the greatest thing to study. Fine art extends our life most, it is the important element in culture. By producing what we are all striving for, the perfect human being—Prospero not Caliban—we shall have a race too highly cultured for warfare—that is the real way to end war.

* * * *

A Scotch woman whose son had been killed in the war was recently sent to prison for distributing *The Tribunal*. Mr. W. Stewart, secretary of the Scottish I.L.P., has been fined £10 for saying that she had been sent to prison because of her wish for Peace.

Under the auspices of the Leytonstone W.S.F., a

MEETING TO PROTEST AGAINST THE IMPRISONMENT OF EDWARD FULLER,

will take place at

42 FOREST LANE, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11th, 7 p.m.

Speakers: Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST, Mrs. BOUVIER.

Chair: Rev. STANLEY JAMES.

Admission Free.

"My dear boy, I have two daughters at home who if they came to the bar would make you young ones and us old ones look to our laurels."
The late George Elliott, K.C.

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Bravely and willingly we bear our share of the World's burdens. Why, then, deny us the right to Vote, which would dignify our labour and increase our Power of Service?

WHAT IN THE FUTURE?

Being thoughts called forth on reading "Great Britain After the War," by Sidney Webb and Arnold Freeman, and "When Peace Comes: The Way of Industrial Reconstruction," by Sidney Webb.

"What do you want of the future?" one asked, and another answered: "That it shall free the human race from economic bondage, and give to the children of the human family the assurance of being well-born, well-nourished, removed from the fear of want, educated to develop the powers latent within them, and the key to the sum of human knowledge placed in their hands. I want that the future shall make men and women free and equal as the well-loved brothers and sisters of one family, lords of their inner selves, alert and upstanding, enjoying abundant leisure, the fruits of the earth and the product of human genius, choosing congenial work and doing it for the community with a will, feet squarely planted on the earth, minds free to roam through the universe at large and to study unfolding regions of the soul."

Express ourselves as we may, these are the gifts for the human race for which countless numbers of us are craving. The touchstone of our ideal should be applied to test each scheme of reconstruction or reform that is brought forward. How will the programme offered by Sidney Webb and Arnold Freeman in "Great Britain After the War,"* and by Sidney Webb in "When Peace Comes,"† stand this test?

The first of these pamphlets is written upon a note of serene contentment to which many readers will be unable to respond. "A century ago the servile State was no comic figment, but a reality," says the opening paragraph, and as though oblivious of to-day's realities, including capitalist food profiteers, the capitalist Press, the capitalist War and the Munitions Act, the writers assert:

"It is no longer true that the mass of the people are at the mercy of Capitalism for their bread and butter, their conditions of employment, their leisure, their thinking and their very honour as it might legitimately be said that they were a century ago."

And again:—

"Will Great Britain in 1936 be a finer country to live in than it would have been had not the sharp prick of war aroused us from our slothful acquiescence in the social iniquities that persist around us."

Yet who can say that we are aroused, we ask, as we consider the treatment of the disabled soldier, the high price of food which is sharpening the tooth of hunger and making the burden of poverty heavier than before?

But let us consider the schemes for the future put forward by the authors. What new contribution do they make to the bridge which shall carry us from the injustices and chaos of this competitive system to the co-operative commonwealth of the future golden age?

The arrangement of the first book is orderly and business-like, and the second book acts as a supplementary addendum to it. A summary of present factors and existing machinery is provided, which is useful in forcing us to crystallise our thoughts and consolidate our ideas, and that to do them justice is exactly what the authors desire of us.

The existing machinery and emergency measures promised by the Government are summarised as follows:—

(a) The Labour Exchange, the function of which is to find jobs, irrespective of the conditions of employment, and to dispense unemployment insurance of 7s. a week for a limited period to members of insured trades (even as now being extended to munition workers, one-third of the workers only); and for one year to ex-soldiers of any trade.

(b) The Statutory War Pensions Committee, with its network of Local Committees, for the disabled soldiers and sailors, and the widows; which will be full of philanthropic ladies seeking to get situations for their protégés at any wage.

(c) The Local Representative Committee, under the National Relief (Prince of Wales's) Fund, including Queen Mary's Work for Women Fund.

(d) The Distress Committee of the Borough or Urban District Council, under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905.

(e) The Poor Law!

EMERGENCY MEASURES DEFINITELY PROMISED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

(a) Furlough for four weeks on usual pay and allowances.

(b) Free railway ticket to any station.

(c) A gratuity—amount not settled. (After the South African War it was £5 or £6.)

(d) For a year, Unemployment Insurance for every discharged soldier or sailor—amount and period not yet settled. (Mr. Webb anticipates that it will be 10s. or 12s. a week.)

(e) A scheme for settling soldiers and sailors "on the land," which will perhaps absorb only two or three thousand.

Webb adds:—

"The disbandment will be governed exclusively by military considerations. . . .It must take place, "so the War Office declares," by entire military units irrespective of the needs of particular industries or the desires of individual men. The only concession that the War Office will make to those who are troubled about getting these millions of soldiers back into Civil employment is to promise that a form shall be filled up for each man stating his occupation, the town to which he intends to proceed and whether he desires a place to be found for him. This is to be forwarded through the War Office to the Labour Exchange of the town which the soldier has designated at least one month before his discharge.

PROPOSALS BY WEBB AND FREEMAN

Having thus set forth the existing machinery and Government schemes for re-starting the industrial machine after the War, Webb and Freeman make their own supplementary or alternative suggestions as follows:—

(a) Complete the "Peace Book"—for that purpose utilising all the best brains in the country. Each town needs its own "Peace Book."

(b) Constitute a Ministry of Labour charged with the responsibility for all the Labour problems which will arise after the war—taking over the Labour Exchanges, etc., from the Board of Trade, Factory and Mines Acts from the Home Office, and the Unemployed Workmen Act from the Local Government Board.

(c) At once extend its Unemployment Insurance Scheme to all trades, extending the duration of the benefit.

(d) Make disbandment of soldiers and sailors gradual, allowing men to leave when they insist on it, but compelling them to return to civil life only in so far as they can be absorbed. (Why not allow any man to re-enlist in the Army for an additional year if he likes?)

(e) Give the disbanded munition and other war-workers the same terms of notice, gratuity, free railway ticket, etc., as the disbanded soldiers.

(f) Prepare at once schemes of employment by the public authorities, both central and local, to be started as soon as the Labour Exchanges find themselves unable to "place" the applicants, in order thus actually to prevent unemployment—as distinct from letting unemployment occur and then relieving the unemployed (*e.g.*, the building of workmen's dwellings, schools, etc., the making and improving of roads, the planting of trees, the reclamation of waste lands, etc.).

(g) Take all children under 15 off the labour market (in order to make room for adults), by raising the school-leaving age.

[Surely this should be 16!]

(h) Pension adequately all widows with young children so that they are not (as too often at present) driven to industrial work in order to live.

(j) Provide for any workers for whom the Labour Exchange fails to discover any means of livelihood full maintenance on condition of accepting training or practical work of educational character and value.

(k) Finally, should not the Government use every means in its power to maintain the standard of life? If it cannot or will not control prices, it must control wages.

Other suggestions thrown out by the authors in more or less tentative and questioning fashion, include the following:—

(1) Parliamentary intervention to enforce the Standard Rates of Wages.

(2) A graduated legal minimum wage as in Australia.

(3) Rates of wages (especially awards of arbiters and the determinations of Trade Boards) to depend upon index-numbers of prices of the "main commodities upon which the worker spends his income."

[Oh, Spirits of Freedom and Equality! Have we no servile state when the vast mass of the people, the workers who produce all wealth by their labour, are able only to buy from a restricted list of inferior commodities?]

(4) Changes in wage rates to occur only at three or six-monthly intervals and where there is at least a 5 per cent. rise or fall in the cost of living.

(5) Old Age and other pensions to be regulated in this way.

It will be seen that both Webb and Freeman advocate a great extension of State control over industry, and that they desire to make the central pivot of the labour world the State Labour Exchange, or Employment Exchange as it is beginning to be called.

THE GOVERNMENT LABOUR EXCHANGE

Very rightly they emphasise the dangers attendant on the provision of work for discharged soldiers by the Local War Pensions Committees, the members of which "will seek to get situations for their protégés at any wage." This danger is no imaginary one, as must be realised by all who sat on those not very dissimilar bodies, the Mayors' Committee's of the Prince of Wales's Fund. The War Office is, moreover, a flagrant offender in this respect; this has been shown in numerous cases, notably that of the dumb soldier, whose disablement pension was cut down from 18s. 9d. to 12s. 6d., because the War Office believed that he had refused work as a bookkeeper in a munition factory on the ground that the wage—30s. a week—was too low. He would have been justified in saying so, as the minimum Trade Union wage for clerks is 35s. But is the suggestion of Webb and Freeman, that work shall be provided through the Labour Exchanges, and that these Exchanges shall be strengthened and extended, the only alternative to charity, and is it the best alternative from the workers's point of view?

There are to-day 400 Labour Exchanges able, according to our authors, to cope with 15,000 or 20,000 cases per day. Estimating that the Exchanges will have to deal with between 3,000,000 and 6,000,000 cases at the close of the War, Webb urges additions to the staff and premises of the Labour Exchanges "so considerable as to take away the breath of the Treasury."

He also suggests that use of the Labour Exchanges might be made compulsory upon employers, as shipowners are compelled to use the mercantile marine, in the sense of notifying the Labour Exchange as to how any vacancy for work has been filled. Should this not be possible, Webb suggests that the Government should request employers to notify all their requirements to the Labour Exchanges "as an act of patriotism."

The Labour Exchanges are unpopular with the workers; they call them "Blackleg Exchanges." The Labour Exchange officials, as Webb and Freeman admit, are instructed to pay no heed as to whether the wage is adequate or the conditions of employment satisfactory. Workers have often been sent many hours' journey by Labour Exchanges, only to find they were wanted to play the part of strike-breakers in places from which they had not the money to return home. The details of administration are anything but satisfactory to the unemployed.

Webb suggests that the workers should "trust" the Labour Exchanges and endeavour to improve their machinery through the Trade Union Advisory Committees, one-half of the members of which are "representative local Trade Unionists." Yet he says of these committees, "they have been formed in secret, usually for impossible areas, they hardly ever meet. They are given next to nothing to do, and carefully prevented from knowing anything of the operations of the Labour Exchange." He suggests that there should be a committee for every town and district which would be allowed to meet regularly to control its own secretary and agenda, and to see how the Exchange is run. "After all," Webb argues, "these committees are only advisory. They can do no harm." That from the workers' point of view is the very reason why the committees will not do! From the workers' point of view it is important to consider whether the machinery of the State Labour Exchanges can ever be rendered acceptable or whether the workers should aim at setting up a complete employment bureau providing machinery of their own. This would undoubtedly entail expenditure of money, time, and energy. But the Labour Exchanges run by the Government are costly, and will become more costly, and ultimately it is the workers who will pay for them. It must be asked how much time and energy will be needed to secure the reform of the Advisory Committees advocated by Mr. Webb, and then to go on and secure that the committees shall obtain power, not merely to *advise*, but to *control* the Exchanges? Even if this were done, can committees on which half are workers, half employers be satisfactory to the workers, especially as the workers' representatives are appointed by the Government, and are probably chosen only if they are likely to be docile and have long left the bench and the atmosphere of the workshop? How much energy and agitation will be needed to secure that the committees shall be appointed entirely by the workers themselves?

SHOULD THE WORKERS RUN THEIR OWN EXCHANGES?

Moreover, is the geographical organisation of the Labour Exchanges a wise one? Ought it not to be occupational, if the work is to be efficiently done?

We are all agreed as to the principle of collective bargaining by the Trade Union in regard to the wages, hours and general conditions of workers actually employed. Is it not the logical completion of the principle to apply collective bargaining to the actual procuring of situations?

It is urged that use should be made of the existing machinery, but there are only 400 Government Labour Exchanges in the country. Indeed, so inadequate is their number that the system can only be described as being in its infancy. There is,

* Publishers: George Allen and Unwin. Price 1s.
† Published by the Fabian Society. Price 2d.

WHAT IN THE FUTURE?—(Continued from Page 584.)
moreover, another machinery which the champions of the Labour Exchange appear to be willing to set aside. Mr. Webb asks, amongst other things, that all the dock and harbour undertakings should "patriotically" use the Labour Exchanges, but the Transport Workers have a Labour Exchange machinery of their own. The Dock and General Workers' Union cannot be expected to agree to allow the Labour Exchange to supersede the machinery of the Union, for the Union has always opposed the Government Exchanges on the ground that they create a pool from which employers may draw men of any kind at any wage. The dockers are a well-organised body, but they are constantly menaced by the possible influx of men from other trades who turn to the docks whenever they are unemployed. The Trade Union Labour Bureau and preference for Trade Unionists is therefore essential to the dockers. The employer may also have found these things useful in securing the engagement of men who understand their work. At Bristol, where the docks are under municipal control, the Municipality telephones the number of dockers required to the Union's offices, and the figures are put up on a board outside.

Is this an impossibility in other industries? Nothing should be accepted by the workers as impossible if it is worth while.

In Denmark the Domestic Workers' Union has both an employment bureau and a training school; that Union, dealing with the workers who, of all others, are most difficult to organise, has achieved so much success that it has been able to enforce the payment of overtime rates after 6 p.m. to cooks, housemaids, and general servants, a thing considered altogether Utopian for domestics in this country. Has that Union grown stronger than others of its kind because it has made itself more useful to the workers? This is a point that should be considered, especially in regard to the organisation of women.

Webb and Freeman urge that employment insurance should be extended to all trades, and again they favour the payment of benefit through the Labour Exchanges rather than through the Trade Union. But whether it be 7s. or 12s., the unemployment benefit is intolerably small. Recognising this, they suggest that to any for whom the Labour Exchange fails to find employment, "full maintenance" should be given on condition that they accept "training or practical work of educational value." The proposal admits of countless pitfalls in view of the character of the Labour Exchanges. If a Trade Union were administering the benefit one could at least be fairly sure that the employment offered would not be that of strike-breaking.

Organised labour in this country has the power, if it chooses to use it, to insist that after the War the Government and the Municipalities shall only engage workers through the appropriate Trade Union, and that at least to workers who are Trade Unionists any unemployment benefit or maintenance shall be paid through the Union. By way of compromise (as has been suggested to us by a Trade Union official), Unions might put a paid servant of their own into the Labour Exchange to deal with Trade Unionists. But if the workers' Unions are ever to become all-powerful in the country they will have to accomplish much greater things than this!

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

Our authors urge that unemployment might largely be prevented by the timely organisation of public work, at least five million rooms are needed in order to house the population, according to the overcrowding regulations of the actual law, but they foreshadow the possibility of a shortage of work and a surplus of workers after the War, and consequently a reduction of wages and an increase of working hours.

The demand which has been put forward by one section of industrial propagandists and is rapidly gaining ground, that the hours of labour shall be reduced until every worker has been absorbed into industry whilst wages shall not be reduced, is not referred to by our authors. It is an eminently wise and logical demand, it is what we shall do under Socialism, but we think it needs bolstering by an assurance that pay shall be provided until the absorption has taken place, for we have learnt much from the War Office of the possibilities of delay! We think the fact of being obliged to pay till the work is found would act as a spur.

We conclude that the limitation of hours to prevent men and women being workless does not appeal to Webb and Freeman, for though they predict unemployment they are much concerned that a large output should be maintained in order "to meet the keen competition of other nations." They assert further, that "we must produce more even if only to be able to make that fairer distribution of commodities which Mr. Asquith declares to be a part of our after-War policy." It is strange that any disinterested and well-informed person can put forward such a contention in view of the fact that the nation has been kept going in spite of the fact that, to quote the authors' own figures, 3,000,000 workers have been withdrawn from industry to the trenches, and 3,000,000 to munition making!

But Webb and Freeman are obviously readers of *The Times:* the Northcliffe syren has sounded in their ears. William Morris would never recognise such a passage as this of Webb's as containing the thoughts of a Socialist colleague if he could come back from "Nowhere" to read it!

PREPAREDNESS.

"Nor need we do more than mention the very considerable orders that will necessarily be given by the War Office and Admiralty during the next few years in order that the nation may have in store, in case of any sudden need for reconstituting Kitchener's Army, enough kahki uniforms, sailcloths, blankets, boots, belts, rifles, etc.

Oh Shade of Karl Marx! What do you say of this?

Speaking of Education, Webb says:—

"This might be completed by whatever training in drill and the use of arms is deemed requisite."

Evidently his ideas of brotherhood cannot cross the frontiers of nationality. We conclude that he is no opponent of Conscription, and that explains to us why he does not see the danger of forcing men to remain in the Army by economic pressure opened up by his suggestion (c) to make demobilisation gradual.

A WORKERS' CONSTITUTION.

In *When Peace Comes,* Webb devotes a section to "A Workers' Constitution." He speaks of shop committees and national industrial committees, formed from the Trade Unions concerned," but that the committees are not, in our time at least, expected to decide upon anything drastic may be gathered from such phrases as the following:—

"The time has come as the only means of averting social disaster, *to grant a constitution* to the factory, and quite frankly to recognise and insist that the conditions of employment are not matters to be settled by the employer alone any more than by the workman alone, but in joint conference between them. . . subject to the National Common Rules arrived at for the whole industry by the organised employers and employed in consultation with the representatives of the community as a whole."

"The representatives of the community, as a whole," are of course representatives of the Government, and the result will probably be something akin to the Munitions Act. Though Mr. Sidney Webb admits and deplores the injustices of that Act he does not seem to realise that any other arrangement between employers and employed, to which a capitalist Government is a party will work out in the same way. Mr. Webb unfortunately shares his blindness towards this fact with the majority of the workers who put capitalist Governments into power. His workers' constitution is a tame affair; it will not arouse any enthusiasm on the Clyde! Its clauses are as follows:—

(1) Prevention of unemployment.

(2) Maintenance of existing standard rates.

[What about increasing them?]

(3) Security against cutting piecework and speeding up.

The guarantee of time and a quarter is suggested several times in both books.

(4) No limitation of output. "We cannot as a nation afford to permit, for this or any other purpose anything in the nature of limitation of output or restriction on the best possible use of machinery or new materials or processes. . . .

(5) Universal enforcement of national minimum wage. "We must perforce start with existing conditions, inexcusably bad as in many cases they are; and only gradually build up whatever may be prescribed as the national minimum of subsistence. . . ."

THE WOMAN PROBLEM.

With regard to women in industry, Webb and Freeman, in *Great Britain After the War,* invite their readers to consider the suggestion that:—

"each union should open its ranks to all persons, men or women, earning the standard rates in the trade."

But afterwards (do such inconsistencies occur through having two editors?) they go on to assert that women cannot be paid the same rates, either by time or piece, as men. Both books use the same arguments to back this conclusion. Webb says:—

"Now, apart from exceptional cases, we cannot, unfortunately, usefully insist that women should be paid the same as men. To enact this would mean the exclusion of women from the majority of industrial employments, because the typical woman is worth less to the employer than the typical man. It is true, that the employer finds her more 'docile' and more 'conscientious.' But she is not usually available for night-work. She does not do so much overtime, and she often workers shorter hours, which suit her better."

[In America, by the way, the men, as a rule, work shorter hours than the women, and in many trades the men have won an 8-hour day, whilst the women have difficulty in securing a 10-hour law.]

"She is on an average absent from ill-health more than a man, she is unable, on account of physical or other incapacity to do certain services that are occasionally required."

[We once knew a little girl who was employed in an asbestos factory: she had to pack and carry heavy saggers, sometimes hot from the kiln. She was occasionally required to wash her governor's shirts, to peel the potatoes, and make the bed.]

"She is usually unwilling to remain long years at her work, or to undertake additional responsibility; and she is less eligible for promotion."

We wonder why? In other passages the teaching profession is included amongst those in which women would not be wanted if their wages were as high as men's. Has the mother-half, then, nothing distinctive to teach the children?

"Where both sexes are employed additional expense is involved for superintendence, lavatory accommodation, welfare work, etc. Thus at equal time wages men would nearly always oust women. Even at equal piecework rates, if the men and women really execute the same tasks men would be usually preferred. Now we cannot ask the six million women to propose terms which would mean to many of them—perhaps to most of them—the loss of their situations. The women simply will not ask for wages equal to those of the men. What is required is—to use the words of that wonderful shillingsworth, the "Labour Year Book"—"The fixing of a rate for men and women which shall be in equitable proportion to any less degree of physical endurance, skill, or responsibility exacted from the women, or to any additional strain thrown on the men, and which shall neither exclude women on the one side, nor blackleg men on the other."

This quotation from the "Labour Year Book" evidently appealed very strongly to our authors, for it appears in both books; but, of course, the fixing of a rate which shall do all the things required of it in that sentence, is an impossibility, for there are varied degress of capacity, skill, endurance, and so on in every man and woman worker in the industry.

But why should the workers attempt to measure and weigh their priceless God-given powers to save a few shillings a week for their employers? Shall the precious energies of the human brain, the services of a brother or a sister in the human family be measured in terms of lavatory accommodation?

To obviate the disastrous competition between men and women which even they do not fail to realise must inevitably result from unequal wages, Webb and Freeman suggest that the State might dictate which shall be the man's and which the woman's province in industry. We think that Mrs. Webb has lately suggested that the State might appoint the life's calling of every boy and girl. But it will not do.

"The wind bloweth where it listeth; and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth."

So it is with the desire of the human mind; no slavery can be more stultifying than that which refuses to let us choose the work in which we shall spend our lives.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

BANNED PLAYS BY A SOLDIER

Two plays by Mr. Miles Malleson, who was invalided out of the Army in January, 1915, have been confiscated by the police. They were published by Henderson's, The Bomb Shop, 66 Charing Cross Road, London, and, no doubt, although they have been confiscated, you will be able to obtain a copy by the exercise of a little determination and trouble.

Why have these plays been banned by the authorities? Obviously because they give the faithfully recorded impressions of a man who went into the Army believing it to be his duty, and who, by the time he was invalided out through an injury to his foot, had come to the conclusion that this War is wrong and should be stopped. The first play is called "'D' Company." In it a young soldier receives the following letter from his mother telling him that his brother has been killed just as his own Company is ordered to the front:—

"My Dear Alf,—I have terrible bad news to tell you. Yesterday they come and tell me Tom had been killed. Dear Alf, I do not know how to bear it. He was hurt something horrible in the stomach, and didn't die for two days afterwards. They tried not to tell me that part, but I knows, because old Mrs. Hayes had a letter from a pal of Tom in his regiment. Oh, my dear Alf, do not go to the Front. If you have any love for me do not go. They says in the papers here mothers ought to be proud to give their sons, but them what write that ain't mothers with sons to give. Alf, I have given one and I have only you left. Oh, Alf, come home safe to me. I prays to God all day that you may—but, Alf, don't go if yer can help it. I can only think of my Tom and you all the time sitting here. Good-bye, and God keep you safe.—Your ever loving Mother."

In the second play, "Black 'Ell," a young soldier, who has been awarded the D.S.O. for retaking a piece of trench and killing six Germans, comes home to a jubilant family. But he is stricken with horror and remorse for the murders he has committed, and especially for the last of them, in which he fell on his adversary, plunging his bayonet into him, strangled him to stop him crying, and then took from the dead man's neck a locket with the portrait of a girl who is like his own sweetheart.

His father says:—

"Nobody wanted this War, but if you're attacked and have to defend yourself. . . . . By jove. We are proud of you, and we are thankful to you for the way you've been protecting your home and your country, and all that she stands for."

The young soldier answers:—

"D'you know where I heard that last? All of it almost in their trenches. I was lying there all night, quite close, and I heard them talking like our chaps do sometimes. . . . My God! they are fine, all of 'em d'you think they'd do that to each other, month after month, if they didn't both think they were right and the others wrong, and they were protecting something? It's all a bloody muddle. . . .

"And all the young men in the world and the workpeople who didn't have anything to do with starting it—and all think they're right—are tearing one another to pieces in screaming agony. It ought to be stopped. . . .

"You all look at me because I tell you it's all filthy—foul language, foul thinking and stinking bits of bodies all about—millions at it—it's not me that's mad, it's the whole world—I've done with it. . . . you can't shoot me, be a se I'm not going back. . . ."

EXPLOITING GLASGOW WOMEN WORKERS

An organised attempt is now on foot to induce the Glasgow Town Council to fulfil the promise made in February, 1915, that women, in the event of their being engaged in the tramway service, would be paid the same wages and employed under the same conditions as men. The women are certainly now employed under the same conditions as the men and are doing the same work, whether acting as drivers, conductors or cleaners; but, in no case are they receiving the same wages. The failure of the Corporation to pay equal wages is a distinct breach of faith with the suffrage organisations who originated the proposal to employ women in the car service and with the women who have undertaken the work. Altogether there are now over 1,200 women in the Glasgow car service, and they resent the position of alleged inferiority in which they have been placed by the differentiation in wages which has been allowed to occur. Moreover, they feel that they are endangering the status of the men, who have gone to the front, and whose places they have taken in the service, by accepting lower wages. When it was agreed on April 29th, 1915, that women should be employed, the Corporation decided that:

> "they be employed upon the same conditions as men conductors; and that they be paid 27s. per week."

At that time 27s. was the minimum wage of the men, and, therefore, the general understanding was that should the women be employed over a long period they would receive the increments given to the men according to length of service. Thus men, in their second year of service, get two advances of 1s. each, the same in the third year, and one advance of 1s. in the fourth year. Naturally, then, it was concluded that women being paid the same minimum as men, would also be given the same advances as they fell due under the scale. The Corporation, however, on the recommendation of the Tramways Committee, has declined to do this, with the result that, including bonus, the wages of the men are a long way ahead of those paid to the women. Consequently, unmarried men receive for a 54-hours week a minimum of 33s. 7d. and a maximum of 42s. 3d., as compared with a minimum of 30s. 5d. and a maximum of 31s. 6d. to women who are giving the very same services. The married men who have a special bonus of 2s. get a minimum of 35s. 7d. There is no reason for this difference in payment except the old bogey of sex, and that bogey we were led to understand had been absolutely destroyed by the War. The women in the Glasgow tram service are doing the same work as the men and are entitled to the same remuneration so long as output or service and not needs is the basis of wages.

The question has again been taken up by the Labour Councillors, one of whom has given notice that:

> "All women employees in the Tramways Department who are doing work formerly done by men, work under the same terms and conditions, and be paid on the same scale of wages as men employees."

This is the fourth attempt made by the Labour Councillors to obtain justice for the women, and we trust it will be successful. If women are to be encouraged to do their best for the nation, then they must be admitted to economic equality with men. If women are treated as inferior to men they cannot be expected to give equal or superior service. In Glasgow the women car workers have at least been as competent as the men, and should be treated accordingly. This is not the time to tolerate sex domination or sex exploitation.

P. J. DOLLAN

THE WORKERS' FOOD PRICES COMMITTEE

The above committee, appointed by the conference held recently, and consisting of representatives of the London District Committee, N.U.R., London District Committee, General Workers' Union, British Socialist Party, The Herald League, Workers' Suffrage Federation, and a number of Metropolitan Trades Councils, met on Sunday last to make arrangements for the Mass Demonstration Against High Food Prices, to be held in Trafalgar Square, on Sunday afternoon, November 19th. Local contingents with bands and banners will march to the Square from the following points:

West (Prince of Wales, Harrow Road), 1.45 p.m.
East (Mile End Waste), 1.45 p.m..
North and North-West (St. Pancras Arches), 1.45 p.m.
South and South-East (Dun Cow, Old Kent Road), 1.30 p.m.

A further contingent will be organised from Canning Town.

Posters and handbills will be ready this week and obtainable on application to the secretary, Albert Inkpin, 21a Maiden Lane, Strand, London, W.C.

Delegates to the conference are asked kindly to note that the next conference, originally fixed for Sunday next, has been postponed until the following Sunday, November 12th, and will be held in Chandos Hall, 21a Maiden Lane, Strand, at 11 o'clock.

All Metropolitan Trades Councils and London Branches of Trade Union and Socialist Organisations are cordially invited to be represented at the Conference, and contributions towards the expenses of the demonstration will be welcomed by the secretary.

FROM OUR READERS

A WORK-GIRLS' CHARTER

A number of leading firms in the West End have consulted together to find a means of making the dress-making trade more attractive to the juvenile worker.

This has come about through a serious shortage of juvenile labour in the skilled needle trades. Leading West End employers have been led to enquire into the causes of the shortage with a view to finding a remedy. In comparison with the hours of employment and wages earned in clerical work, munitions making, and many other industries in which women and girls now have a footing, dress-making and allied trades compare very unfavourably. The substitution of women workers for men, and the consequent shortage in the workroom world during the past two years has brought to light the pressing need for reform, both in wages and hours; in fact, an organisation for women workers is here much needed.

It is not long ago that the would-be milliner served six months with no wages; and the dressmaker's apprentice only got 2s. to 2s. 6d. a week. Possibly there are still some doing so; but for the last two or three years there has been a tendency to offer more—because the danger of unfilled workrooms during the "season" showed on the horizon.

Now a young learner in a needle trade should apply to her nearest Labour Exchange and she will be given the names of West End firms which offer these improved conditions to workers under 16 years.

Chief among the conditions are:—

1. Wages to be 6s. in first half-year; 8s. in second half-year.
2. Payment for all Bank Holidays.
3. A fixed rate of overtime pay—graded according to the wages earned.
4. A working week of not more than 48 hours.
5. No slack time.

In addition to these arrangements, two weekly periods of three hours each are to be given during the employer's time for attendance at a Day Trade School.

All the new conditions—and there are others I have not mentioned—should attract girls desirous of learning a trade for the future. Undoubtedly the advantages of getting a definite training in a Trade School are great and should go a long way towards helping a girl to gain a thorough grounding in her trade, instead of picking up a part of it only.

F.E.S.

FROM A SOLDIER'S WIDOW.

Dear Editor,—I want to explain the hardships of the soldiers' widows owing to the price of food. All I get as a widow is 15s. for me and my child. I have to pay 5s. rent leaving 10s. for food, clothing, boots and everything. In fact, since going on my widow's pension I have been nearly starved: it was only just bare living on a guinea. Surely if it took a guinea to keep everything going whilst my husband was alive it takes a guinea to keep us now that he is gone. It gives one the sick to read the papers about the "heroes" when they let their widows starve on such a small pension. I am left to try and live on 15s., which is only worth about 10s., All I can get is just a relish for Sunday and bread and butter all the week, and that I have to pay 5d. a loaf for. People are always talking about the nation wanting healthy children, but can they expect it on such a paltry sum? My little son will often say to me, "Mum, can I have an egg for tea?" and of course I have to refuse, and the little chap will say: "I used to when daddy went to work before the war," and his simple words just give me food for thought for *he* gave up a good job to do his duty and I am left to suffer and ever refuse my boy what is everyone's right—good food. It all seems so hard that I felt that I must write for I know that your heart has always been with the down trodden. I think I will bring my letter to a close. Hoping you will do your best for us soldiers' wives and widows.

A SOLDIER'S WIDOW.

The Editor would be glad to hear further from the writer of this letter.

LORD GREY'S SPEECH

The super-Machiavelli (who hoodwinked the British public by posing as a pacifist) in his speech at a luncheon given by the Foreign Press Association on Oct. 23rd, said that the young generation were giving themselves for the older generation and for those that came after. He also said that the older generation would not countenance mediation or negotiations, because the rules of civilised war had not been kept by Germany. Therefore, because the old men's theories of the possibility of civilising war have proved damnably wrong, the young men have to be slaughtered indefinitely. There is no such thing as "civilised warfare." Civilisation must legislate against war. It is only by the continued demoralisation of public opinion by the prolongation of war—and in the complete madness of Europe—that the Governments can hope to find their justification.

CHILDREN'S MISDEEDS.

At the National Special Schools Union Biennial Conference the increase in juvenile crime was referred to. Bishop Weldon blamed drunken mothers and picture houses. Mr. Spurley Hey stated that from January, 1911, to December, 1915, 2,741 cases had gone before the Manchester Juvenile Court, 2,528 of the offenders were boys, and 213 girls. 1,988 of the children were charged with theft or breaking in, and the greater proportion of them lived in city slums. There can be little doubt that high prices have a bearing on the fact of children's thieving. If children are given less to eat than they need, can we be surprised that some of them help themselves to more? And if everything beyond the barest necessity is denied them is it not natural that little luxuries will gain an undue importance in their eyes? Ought a child to have to learn to say to itself: "I can never have the things I want and which other children get without difficulty"? Mr. Spurley Hey says: "Additional encouragement must be given to children to be thrifty. But the prescription fails to satisfy us. We want the children to have less need to be thinking of want. Mr. Hey explained that the majority of the offenders are aged about 12, and described the exploits of the Black Hand, a gang of six little lads calling each other "Dick Turpin," "Galloping Dick," "Buffalo Bill," "Hard Riding Dick," and so on, who met under an arch of the Central Station each evening, lit a fire and divided their plunder.

* * * *

Mr. Guy Aldred was granted a week's leave from Dyce conscientious objectors' camp and a permit to travel home on October 26th. After granting the permit the authorities seemed to have changed their minds, for his friends have told him that when he had left detectives appeared at Dyce and searched the camp for him; also that they watched the trains on the morning of the 27th. On October 31st detectives called at his house in London and arrested him.

DR. FRIEDRICH ADLER

Referring to the assassination of the Austrian Prime Minister, Stürgkg, by Dr. Friedrich Adler, the Secretary of the Austrian Socialist Party, the Swiss Socialist paper, "Volksrecht," for October 23rd, says: "Dr. Friedrich Adler has sacrificed his life and his all for this sole act. He is a wealthy man, has a wife and children—whom he loves—and had a great field of political activity before him. All these he has given up. We have the highest admiration for the courage and self-sacrifice he thus proved. He has killed an international enemy of the working class, and in doing so has sacrificed himself. Reactionary opinion to-day begrimes his name as a murderer, but history will give him justice and will put him in the ranks of the immortal who have sacrificed their lives for the benefit of the community."

But men would not be driven in desperation to make such sacrifices if the mass of the workers would but respond to the creed of "all for each and each for all": if they were but willing and determined that all should be equals. A small group of autocrats can enslave an ignorant and selfish populace, but an enlightened people can secure justice by sheer force of the collective will and without violence. Has the world ever known an enlightened people? No, not completely so, but from time to time the great mass wakes to a further stage of enlightenment on some definite issue and then follows a reform.

T.N.T. AGAIN

At a recent inquest a Faversham on the body of Winifred Oldfield, age 21, who had worked in a munition factory since June. The verdict was that death resulted from T.N.T. poisoning. Dr. Benjamin Moore, of the Medical Research Committee stated that "only one person in 100 or 200 was affected by T.N.T. poisoning."

Is he quite sure?

* * * *

At a Council of the United Government Workers' Trade Union representing about 100,000 men and women working in the Royal Arsenal a resolution was passed advocating Government control of retail prices.

The Council also demanded an increase of 2d. per hour for all men and women working in the Arsenal, in other Government factories and stores in the London district and at Enfield and Waltham Abbey.

* * * *

Potatoes cost the public £14 per ton, the price before the war was from £3 10s. to £4 and there is a rumour that it may soon be £20 per ton or 3d. per pound. From the *Daily Chronicle* we learn that there are many thousand tons of potatoes locked up in and near Wolverhampton which the growers will not release.

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Open Discussion.

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

October 10th.—There was a wrangle between Sir H. Dalziel and Mr. Runciman as to whether the Board of Trade has been sufficiently swift in seizing and selling the property of Germany and her allies in this country. Mr. Pretyman protested that the matter was going forward with all dispatch, but that the properties must not be sold for less than their worth and that the winding up must be done under the Act passed for the purpose as "we are the last country for whom it would be wise to inaugurate a policy of mere confiscation of private property in war-time for the sole reason that we are the country which probably owns a larger proportion of property in foreign lands than any nation in the world."

This is frank. But what is the difference between seizing property and selling it and holding the proceeds as an "asset;" and merely confiscating it?

* * * *

Mr. Ginnell, released from prison and back in the House again, returned to the charge with a batch of Irish questions.

* * * *

October 24th.—Commander Wedgwood asked whether any of the officers or soldiers concerned in the murder of Mr. Sheehy Skeffington, Mr. Dickson and Mr. Mc Intyre, would have been liable under the Army Act if they had disobeyed Captain Bowen Colthurst. Mr. Forster avoided giving a definite answer, but stated that punishment is only imposed "for refusing to obey a lawful command." Mr. Ginnell then inquired why the soldiers or officers who committed the murder have not been put on trial under the ordinary law?

The Speaker said that notice of the question must be given.

* * * *

Mr. Hogge urged the advisability of paying separation allowance to "imbecile dependants over twenty-one if they are kept at home."

Mr. Forster replied, "some limitation of the payments made by the War Office in such cases has always been considered necessary." When other hardships were pointed out Mr. Forster replied that these were features of the scheme recommended by the Select Committee on War Pensions and approved by the House. Mr. Pringle aptly inquired: "is the hon. gentleman not aware that this House has never had an opportunity of discussing or approving the recommendations of the Committee?"

There was no reply.

* * * *

Mr. Anderson asked under what authority a Regulation has been framed that where wives have been deserted by their husbands separation allowance will not be paid unless clear evidence is forthcoming of reconciliation and the intention of the husband to re-establish his home with his wife when he leaves the Army. Mr. Forster replied that the Regulations were framed on the authority of the Army Council and proceed on the principle that separation allowance is to make good loss due to military service.

In short: "And he that hath not from him shall be taken even that which he hath." But are not soldiers entitled to wages? The "heroes" appear to be regarded by the War Office as very tiresome paupers.

* * * *

Mr. Jowett protested against the practice of cutting down the separation allowance payable in respect of a soldier son when the father dies and the mother becomes the recipient. He urged that in most cases the mother is made poorer by the father's death and in any case the allowance is supposed to approximate to the pre-war contribution of the son. Mr. Forster defended the mean and unjustifiable practice even though the soldier's father may have been self-supporting, on the ground that "when he dies his share necessarily lapses."

Evidently the soldier's mother may starve or go to the Workhouse for all Mr. Forster cares!

* * * *

Mr. Forster callously refused to consider the suggestion that "where relatives of wounded soldiers are unable to pay half-fare to visit them, the War Office should grant one free pass instead of two passes at half rates."

* * * *

Mr. Duke announced that a war bonus shall be granted to Irish National School Teachers "as though they were Civil Servants of the Crown."

At last!

* * * *

Mr. Anderson stated that twenty women employed by the Bothwell Park Quarry and Brickwork, Ltd., Fallside, Lancashire, were paid 14s. 3d. per week, plus 1s. 3d. bonus "dependent upon good time-keeping;" they were charged with striking and fined. Mr. Primrose was ignorant of the matter. Mr. Anderson further stated that the Standard Woodwork Company are paying 3d. per hour to adult women workers on Government work. Again no information. Wanted a living wage for Government workers!

* * * *

In reply to Mr. Rowlands, Mr. Brace announced that during the quarter ending September 30th the number of reported deaths from T.N.T. was twenty-one.

* * * *

The annual cost to the State of the additional bonus to railwaymen will be about £6,500,000, Mr. Runciman said.

* * * *

Bedroom fires are now only allowed to Scottish women prison officers "when the governor thinks it necessary." "Mr. Tennant said that the lighting of bedroom fires as a regular routine is no longer permitted in view of the urgent need for economy of coal."

Of course, Mr. Tennant cannot realise what it is to have only a cold bedroom to be alone in.

* * * *

October 25th.—In reply to Mr. George Lambert, Dr. Macnamara stated at a date shortly prior to the war there were 430 women employed in Chatham, Devonport, and Portsmouth Dockyards, at the end of August the number was 1,630 and it is being increased. The additional women are for the most part doing men's work. Are they getting men's pay?

* * * *

Lord Robert Cecil stated that the War Office is opposed to the exchange of British and German prisoners of military age.

* * * *

The various incongruities and injustices of dispensing allowances, both to mothers, wives and other dependants were commented on by Messrs. Ginnell, Sutton, Anderson, Hogge, Davies, Wardle, Hunt and Byrne. Mr. Forster said these were matters for the Statutory Committee.

* * * *

Mr. Forster stated that men who are returned to employers in exchange for men released for military service will remain in the Army Reserve.

This is industrial conscription. What about "Mr. Asquith's pledge"?

It transpired that although men who are National school teachers have got a war bonus in Ireland there in no provision for women. Even Mr. Redmond pointed out the mockery of offering a woman earning £28 a year the rise of 1st 6d. or 2s., which half the men's war bonus would amount to.

GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND.

Major Chapple asked the Prime Minister whether he will submit to representatives from Ireland a proposal for bringing into immediate operation the Government of Ireland Act modified by the following provisions: "That at any time, not being sooner than six months after the war, a stated number of electors in Ulster may petition Parliament to set up a Boundary Commission to define Protestant Ulster, that thereafter a plebiscite be taken of electors within such area to ascertain whether they will continue to send their representatives to the Irish Parliament or to any other local Parliament willing to receive them that may be set up or failing this to the Imperial Parliament prior to such plebiscite may, in its application to Ulster, be vetoed by the Imperial Parliament, and that pending such plebiscite all Irish Members be retained at Westminster." Mr. Bonar Law answered that "as at present advised" His Majesty's Government could not make itself responsible for the suggestion.

We think the Irish Nationalists would agree to Major Chapple's suggestion. But will the Unionists? The Government accepts a great responsibility in refusing to do anything for Ireland.

* * * *

Mr. McCallum Scott protested against the refusal to apply the arrangement to make up their civilian pay of Civil Servants in the Army to the level of former civil pay in the case of unmarried men with mothers and sisters dependent on them. Mr. McKinnon Wood refused to make the number of dependants the basis of distinction on the ground that "the war bonus is really a concession and is not a thing which could have been claimed as a right." In some people's eyes those who work for their living have no rights!

* * * *

Mr. Anderson raised the case of three women whose wages were 8s. a week being charged at the Cardiff Munitions Tribunal for absenting themselves from a controlled establishment without leave. He asked what steps the Munitions Department was going to take to redeem the pledge to establish a minimum of £1 a week for women in controlled establishments?

Dr. Addison said that the matter was under consideration, but that if the Ministry had not power to deal with that particular trade under the fair contracts clause or the Munitions Order nothing could be done. This Ministry could get the power if it wanted it. It could take it if it chose. Mr. Anderson pointed out that the Munitions Act prevents women from getting work elsewhere at higher pay and that 8s. a week is only worth about 5s. to-day.

* * * *

Mr. Anderson stated that of the 472 cases of industrial poisoning reported during the nine months ending September, 1916, 120 were caused by toxic jaundice, and of 62 deaths, 33 were attributable to this cause. He asked how many were due to T.N.T.

Mr. Brace replied that there were 95 T.N.T. cases and 28 deaths.

It is practically certain that there were many more T.N.T. cases, as doctors have just begun to recognise the effects of this terrible poison.

* * * *

Sir Richard Cooper suggested that the Committee on Franchise and Registration should recommend the exclusion of "so-called conscientious objectors from the register."

More reaction!

* * * *

Mr. Byrne announced that a Frongoch Camp one of the Irish prisoners had become insane as a result of cruel treatment.

"Prussianism!"

* * * *

Up to the end of September the allowances to women who were by birth British or neutral or allied nationality and are married to alien enemies amounted to £200,000 for England and Wales. This is not much amongst so many, the women are half starved.

* * * *

It was agreed that question time should be extended by a quarter of an hour. Mr. Booth asked that the custom of giving answers that are merely "clever evasions" should be discontinued. He asserted that in every Government department it is said there are "a few white Baboos" who spend their time inventing clever English to deceive Members.

* * * *

There was a long and dull debate on the Acquisition of Land Bill. Dr. Addison's motion to delete the words "lease or otherwise dispose of" in the clause: "before any Government department shall sell, lease or otherwise dispose of," was carried in a division by 158 to 43. Property owners follow this measure closely and its passage is therefore very slow.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS.

The unjust treatment of conscientious objectors was raised upon the adjournment of the House by Mr. Edmund Harvey, who cited the case of Mr. Malcolm Sparkes, the managing director of a woodworking firm. He had resigned that post when the firm had decided to do war work, but had continued to be employed by the firm for civilian work. He had refused the offer of a badge. The Pelham Committee had recommended him for whole time voluntary work for an educational trust devoted to the study of relations between employers and employed. The Tribunal disapproved of the committee's decision and ordered Mr. Sparkes into the N.C.C., where in accordance with the dictates of his conscience he is refusing military orders and will go to prison. Mr. Harvey also related an incident in which Mr. Lawrence Deller, an artist, was told by the Tribunal that he had given evidence proving that his statement of conscientious objection was truthful, but that he must give evidence "to show that he was more like Christ than other men." He was refused alternative service on the land for which he pleaded and the military representative's last words to him were:—

"God's law be damned; go and fight!

Mr. Hayes Fisher admitted that there were sometimes "unseemly wrangling" at Tribunals "which make us perhaps a little ashamed of the Tribunals," but "after all many of these conscientious objectors are very arrogant." He agreed "that it was very doubtful wisdom to force these conscientious objectors, so ill-suited to any form of fighting into the Army," but at the same time it must not be made "too easy for them" or their numbers might grow dangerously. He added that the local Tribunals have power to overrule the Pelham Committee and to dictate the kind of alternative service they require a man to take or to withdraw the offer of alternative service. The unfitness of the Tribunals to deal with the matter is that they send business men, artists, writers, etc., to milk cows or make roads. Their only idea of alternative service is alternative hardship!

* * * *

October 26th.—In reply to Major Hunt and Mr. Pennefather, Lord R. Cecil stated that the visit of Miss Hobhouse to Germany and Belgium, which took place with the permission of the German authorities, was not known to the British Government until she had returned to Switzerland. He thought it "very undesirable that any British subjects should pay visits to high German officials." Colonel Alan Sykes desired that "action" should be taken.

* * * *

Mr. Anderson stated the case of a man at Reading, to whom the Appeal Tribunal refused exemption, despite the fact that he maintains his father and mother, the former being blind and the latter suffering from heart disease, also an invalid brother and his grandfather. Mr. Hayes Fisher promised to make enquiries.

* * * *

Mr. Duke said there was no truth in the allegations that Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington is persecuted by police espionage.

* * * *

Mr. Byrne stated that within the last six weeks 180 Irishmen interned at Frongoch, have been sentenced to various terms for refusing to clean out the soldiers' lavatories, and asked: "Is that work for untried prisoners?" In answer to Mr. Flavin, Mr. Samuel said the number of men punished thus was 140, and that he had remitted the punishment and arranged that the men should not "be required to perform this particular fatigue."

* * * *

The question of asking the small nations, especially Poland and Ireland, to send representatives to the International Peace Conference to follow the War, was raised by Mr. Ginnell, who received no satisfaction. He then asked: "Does that mean that the pretence of fighting for small nationalities is all humbug?"

* * * *

The Prime Minister announced that a Pensions Board is to be created, with a Cabinet Minister at its head.

* * * *

Mr. Hayes Fisher stated that the Civil Liabilities Committee scheme does not apply to Reservists; but that the question of inclusion is receiving consideration.

* * * *

The Prime Minister refused to make temporary provision for disabled soldiers whose disease is not held to be due to or aggravated by service.

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Mr. Lambert said that S. W. Venner was fined £10 at Gateshead for distributing copies of the "Tribunal," which had been passed by the Press Bureau.

* * * *

Colonel Norton Griffiths advocated the notification and compulsory treatment of venereal disease.

* * * *

Sir Clement Kinlock-Cooke drew attention to the fact that bank clerks who had foregone their holidays are still deprived of them.

* * * *

Mr. Byrne said that to obtain a supply of sugar was almost impossible for Irish shopkeepers.

* * * *

The case of employees being required to belong to a specified religion being obtained through the Employment Exchanges, was objected to by Mr. MacCallum Scott on the ground of "religious persecution."

Mr. Pretyman said it would be undesirable for Employment Exchanges to assume responsibility for conditions. The workers call them Blackleg Exchanges.

* * * *

Colonel Lord H. Cavendish Bentinck stated that all the work of restoring disabled soldiers to complete health is at a standstill owing to the inability of the Secretary of State for War to make up his mind as to whether the duty should be entrusted to the War Office or to the Statutory Committee. Mr. Hayes Fisher answered, "The matter is awaiting final decision."

The history of the pensions question in a nutshell!

* * * *

Mr. Dickinson again protested against the decision that women Government clerks are only to have half tthe bonus paid to men.

* * * *

Sir Kinlock-Cooke mentioned the fact that men who served between thirty and forty years in His Majesty's dockyards building the fleet only get pensions ranging from 10s. to 20s. a week, and are suffering great hardship.

* * * *

Mr. Duke stated that between May 1st, 1851 (when statistics were first collected) and September 30th, 1916, the total number of emigrants from Ireland was 4,314,781, 2,242,723 being men and 2,072,058 women.

This reveals a sad story of poverty and misgovernment.

* * * *

Mr. Forster stated that the wages of civilian employees in the Army Ordnance Department are being "raised to 20s. a week!"

In pity's name what were they before?

LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Colonel Gretton moved: "That in the opinion of this House, the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic) should no longer be independent of the control of Parliament and that its proceedings and expenditure should be made subject to the control of a Minister responsible to Parliament." The Board has not done much, but it has done too much for the brewery-owning colonel. He complained that it had acquired breweries as well as licensed properties, and had effected control "over an area so large as Carlisle." He said "at the national expense," but "to the profit of the Exchequer and at the expense of the brewers and publicans" would be nearer the mark! He was informed that the same thing is to be done in Hull, and that Burton-on-Trent the brewery town had been scheduled. He complained of secrecy, but if there had been no secrecy the drink-subsidised-Press would have got up a monstrous agitation to prevent anything being done. Colonel Gretton is only to be found on the side of Democratic Control on those rare occasions when executives dare to threaten the Liquor Interest. At other times democracy is anathema to him!

Mr. Leif Jones protested that the liquor traffic should be abolished, not nationalised, and complained that the War Office book on women's "War Work," of national importance showed pictures of women bottling beer and cleaning brewer's vats. He said that a builder who had been refused permission to erect an extension for a clothing factory had been allowed to do the same thing for a brewer's bottle-making works, and had received a letter from the Ministry of Munitions:—"Please note you may consider this War work."

A division was taken, in which 85 voted with Colonel Gretton and 97 with the Government. Unfortunately no progressive issue could at the present time bring the Government's margin so low.

THE
WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To secure Human Suffrage, namely, a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People.

Entrance Fee ... ... 1d.
Minimum Subscription... 1d. a month

LONDON MEETINGS.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3rd.
Green Gate, 4 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.45 p.m., Lecture; Discussion.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4th.
Grundy Street, 11 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Hague Street, 3 p.m., Miss Price.
Outside Jones' Bros., 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5th.
Osborn Street, 11. 30 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Dock Gates, 12 noon, Mrs. Walker, Mr. Arnall.
Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce, Miss Somers.
Stratford, the Grove, 4 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
Poplar Women's Hall, 7 p.m., Public Meeting.
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 6th.
"Whitehouse," 3.30 p.m., Miss Price.
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 7th.
Piggott Street, 1 p.m., Miss Price.
White Cross Street, 1 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
Bow Women's Hall, 8 to 10 p.m., Reading Room.
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 8th.
53 St. Leonard's Street, 2 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Poplar Women's Hall, 8.15 p.m., Lecture; Discussion.
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9th.
Poplar Women's Hall, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Shlette
Chandos Hall, 3.30 p.m., At Home.
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10th.
Green Gate, 4 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.45 p.m., Lecture; Discussion.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11th.
Ford Road, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Grundy Street, 3 p.m., Rev. Wm. Piggott, Miss Price.
Lewisham, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
42 Forest Lane, Stratford, 7 p.m., Miss Pankhurst, Mrs. Bouvier, Rev. Stanley James.
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 12th.
The Grove, Hammersmith, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
Joint Meeting with N.C. for C.L.
Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
Hampstead, Jack Straw's Castle, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.

W.S.F. BRANCHES

Bow Branch.—Sec., Miss Price, 400 Old Ford Road. Our open air meetings continue to receive increased support. Our Friday evening lectures are very interesting, but should be better attended. On November 10th and 17th, Mrs. Lafitte-Cyon is speaking on the French Revolution. All members should endeavour to attend these lectures. It will be moonlight. Contributions of material, home made goods and donations will be welcomed for the Caxton Hall Exhibition.

Members are reminded that branch subscriptions should be kept up to date. The *Dreadnought* is receiving support at all our meetings. Will members let us know what available time they have to help in the sale of our paper, which fights for the liberty and rights of the oppressed.

Dreadnought Sales, week ending October 28th, 606. Mrs. Holloway, 180; Miss O'Brien, 146; Miss Harriet, 144; Miss Price, 46; Mrs. Boyce, 30; General, 60. Bromley, 23.

W.S.F. FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Lectures on Economics, Trade Unionism, History of Socialism, National Guilds, &c., take place at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E., on Friday evenings at 7.45.

Nov. 3rd. Mr. J. Fineberg (B.S.P.), "Theory of Karl Marx."
,, 10th. Mrs. Lafitte-Cyon, "French Revolution."
,, 17th. Mrs. Lafitte-Cyon, "French Revolution."
,, 24th. Miss Mabel Lawrence, "International Socialism."
Dec. 1st. Mr. G. D. H. Cole, "Trade Unions. Next Step, National Guilds."
,, 15th. Professor Masaryk, "Tolstoi's Philosophy of Religion."

Mr. John Scurr's lectures "The Growth of the English People," on Wednesday evenings, at 8.30 prompt, in the Women's Hall, 20 Railway Street, Poplar, E.

Nov. 8th. "The Beginning of Empire."
,, 15th. "The Industrial Revolution."
,, 22nd. "The Triumph of the Middle Class."
,, 29th. "The Uplift of Labour."

Every Thursday in October and November, At Homes are held at Chandos Hall (21a Maiden Lane, close to Eustace Miles' Restaurant). We hope that members and friends will make a point of attending. Admission free.

November 9th, Miss Alison Neilans, "Is Prostitution Necessary?" Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, "The Present Outlook." Chair, Mrs. Bouvier.

November 16th, Mrs. K. Outhwaite, "The Land Question." Mr. Jaakoff Prelooker, "Patriotism—Natural and Political." Chair, Mrs. Bouvier.

Poplar Women's Hall, November 5th, 7 p.m., Mrs. H. C. Campbell, "Women and Co-operation." Mr. W. F. Watson (A.S.E.), "Should Women be Driven Out of the Engineering Industry." Chair, Mrs. Shlette. Admission free. All welcome.

CAXTON HALL EXHIBITION

Caxton Hall Exhibition, December 7th, 8th, and 9th, from 3 to 10 p..m. daily.

Friends are asked to help in stocking and taking the stalls and in making the Exhibition known. Communications should be addressed to the Exhibition Secretary, Miss Sonia Rodker, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

"The Birthrate."

Notes and Views on the Report of the National Birthrate Commission, by E. Sylvia Pankhurst. Price 1d 9d. per. dozen

BARKING ADULT SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION

On Sunday, October 29th, a demonstration, organised by the Barking Workers' Suffrage Federation and Trades Council was held in the Baths Hall, Barking. The following resolutions were carried unanimously:—

That this meeting demands that the whole people shall be enfranchised in time for the next general election, and calls upon the Government to introduce a Bill to enfranchise every adult woman, and to postpone the Special Register Bill and the Ballot Act Amendment Bill until the enactment of adult suffrage.

And further demands that the Government shall control the food supply with a view to its equitable distribution.

Mrs. Drake, in introducing the speakers, emphasised the great importance of both resolutions in this time of hardship, when liberties were being lost and men and women were facing what was to them the supreme tragedy.

Mrs. Boyce, in a most eloquent and appealing speech, urged the claim of women to the franchise. As a widow, she had fought to bring up her four children, and now her three sons were at the War. She had just received a letter to say that one of her sons had been wounded in the throat, that he had been unconscious for four days, and that he *might* soon be a little better. When she read the letter the thought flashed through her mind, "Thank God it's not a limb," for the Government refuses to make itself responsible for providing artificial limbs for limbless soldiers. Limbless soldiers have to depend on the penny flags sold in the street. The poor helped the poor in times of hardship, and were it not so the speaker often thought there would have been a revolution before now. And when the poor helped the poor there was none of that stigma of patronage by which the soldiers and sailors and their dependants were insulted. Poor people living in the slums who couldn't afford to buy a bath, and therefore wanted to borrow one from their nighbours, didn't go cringing and pleading: "Please, ma'am, my husband's a steady man; he never has a glass"—they called out, "Mother Jones, hand us over the bath," and Mother Jones was glad to do it.

She appealed to the workers to band themselves together to secure a vote in order that they might control the Government and get that spirit into the management of the national affairs.

Mr. E. C. Fairchild expressed his strong desire for the enfranchisement of every adult man and woman. He was told that the British workers had shown great pluck in fighting the Germans. They had never shown very much in fighting the British capitalists. If a military basis were introduced for the franchise 100 ways of disfranchising a fighting trade unionist would be found. The vote was a symbol of power. It was also a means whereby the people could establish themselves in their own rights. Mr. Fairchild also spoke sympathetically of the work of the Barking Trades and Labour Council.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst referred to Mr. Runciman's statement that the Government was considering the establishment of the minimum wage. Every section of the people should be given power to enforce its claims when so vital a question was being decided, and the women urgently needed the power to insure equal pay for men and women which was the only safe course to adopt in the interests both of women and men. Soldiers' widows would need the vote to protect their pensions after the War, just as they need power to secure an increase in pensions and allowances now. In America mothers' pensions had been granted to enable the widows of civilians to support their children, and this should be done here. It was important that the whole people should have a voice in the Peace Settlement.

Mr. Seymour Cocks, U.D.C., gave an interesting address on the Trade War.

CHANDOS HALL "AT HOME."

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, in the chair, gave an account of the work of the Workers' Suffrage Federation. The provincial work was going on apace. During the year energetic work had been opened up in Yorkshire, branches being formed in Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield, Wakefield, Rotherham, and Huddersfield, where Miss Stephen was now touring. Leeds was a specially active branch, having carried on a splendid series of open-air meetings throughout the summer. Newcastle Branch, opened up by Mrs. Boyce at Easter, had also done much open-air work. Glasgow had done the same, and under Mrs. Boyce's guidance had held a demonstration on Glasgow Green and in Glasgow Town Hall. Portsmouth was an active branch which had sprung up spontaneously. Southampton, with help from Mrs. Drake and Mrs. Leigh Rothwell, had held vigorous campaigns. In the Midlands, Leicester, Carlton, Netherfield, and Northampton, with Miss Lynch's help, had done good work, and more was expected of them.

On the initiative of the W.S.F. a steady stream of resolutions from trade unions and other organisations had been sent to the Speaker's Conference, the Prime Minister, and the various Party leaders. The Adult Suffrage Joint Committee, representing upwards of 60 London Labour organisations, had been formed, had held an excellent meeting in the Euston Theatre, and was arranging deputations to local Members of Parliament. Members were urged to renew their efforts to obtain signatures to the workers' suffrage petition, also to the peace negotiations memorial. Help was asked for in extending the circulation of the Dreadnought and for the Caxton Hall Exhibition in December.

The social work of the W.S.F. was continually extending, and Miss Pankhurst was glad to announce the introduction of the Montessori teaching to the nursery at the Mothers' Arms by the kindness of Miss Muriel Matters, Miss Hildegarde Gunn, and Miss Pleasance Napier.

Mr. Tom Richardson, M.P., said that if the Electoral Reform Conference did not make a more serious effort to tackle the problems before it than it showed signs of doing at present, there was every reason to fear that it would end in a fiasco and be but just one more example of the attempts of politicians to delay important questions by a pretended consideration of them. Eternal vigilance on the franchise question was never so necessary as now.

The demand for a service franchise was not so insistent to-day as it had been. Perhaps some of its advocates were not feeling so sure as they had done that such a franchise would add to their political strength, and that the soldiers and sailors in the trenches would vote as they desired.

Mr. Richardson regarded the service franchise as dangerous, and emphasised the need to insist that the franchise

(Continued on Column 3.)

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Tchaykovsky, Langham House, Harrow, or Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

General Fund.—Mrs. Laski, $5; Miss Mary Neale, 5s.; Mrs. M. K. Richardson, 2s. 8d.; Mrs. McCleod, 2s. 6d. Collections.—Chandos Hall, 17s. 6d.; Barking Meeting, 17s. 2d.; Woolwich, 7s. 4d.; Whitechapel, 5s. 9d.; Barking, 4s. 1½d.; Bow Women's Hall, 2s. 7½d.; Poplar Women's Hall, 1s. 1d.

Dreadnought Fund.—Miss A. M. Buchan, £5; Profit on Dreadnought Social, per Miss O'Brien, £3 5s.; Miss Hobhouse, £1; Archibald R. Brown, Esq., 11s.; Socialist Friends (Dunedin), 10s.; Miss S. Cousins, 1s. 6d.; W. F. Edgerton, Esq., 1s.

Milk and General Distress.—Mrs. Macfarland and Miss M. E. Coltman, £3; E. Williams, Esq., £1; Mrs. Holmes, £1; Nurse Hebbes, 12s.; Socialist Friends (Dunedin), 10s.; Mrs. Heywood Bright (weekly), 5s.; Miss E. Guest, 3s.; Miss L. Byers, 2s. 6d.; Miss Cannon, 2s. 6d. (Montessori); Miss E. V. Bullock, (monthly), 2s.; Miss E. M. Brett, 1s.; Miss Mackenzie, 1s. Collections. L.S.A. Tool Room, £3 2s. (two weeks); Bromley Sale of Clothes, £1 0s. 2d.; Misses Lagsding and Lynch (Green's Yard), 12s. 0½d.; Poplar Clinic, 4s. 5d.; Mrs. Taylor, 2s. 2½d.

Exhibition.—Mrs. Naftel, £2; Miss Joachim, £1; Mr. and Mrs. Darley, 10s.; Miss S. W. Newsome, 5s.; Mrs. Grieve, 5s.; Mrs. Grenfell, 3s.; Mrs. Prothero, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Johnson, 6d.

Clothes, etc.—Mrs. Hecht, Mrs. Noble, Mrs. Crosland Taylor, Miss E. Cumming.

Eggs.—Lady Margaret Sackville.

Groceries.—Hampstead National Food Fund.

Bottles.—Miss McLean.

MOTHERS AND BABIES.

The Mothers' Arms, 438 Old Ford Road, Bow.

Day nursery from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Mondays, 2.30 p.m. Mothers and babies can consult Nurse at any time.

20 Railway Street, Poplar (opposite South Bromley Station).

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Tuesdays, 3 p.m. Nurse may be seen at any time.

53 St. Leonard's Street, Bromley-by-Bow.

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Tuesdays, 2 p.m.

124 Barking Road, Canning Town.

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Tuesdays, 4 p.m.

All mothers and children are welcome.

COST PRICE RESTAURANTS at 400 Old Ford Road, and 20 Railway Street. Dinners from 12 till 2 p.m. daily.

Wants.

Subscriptions to the milk and food fund. Doctoring and nursing can help little if mothers and children are unable to obtain the nourishment that is ordered.

New laid eggs, barley, glaxo, virol, for invalids. Medicine bottles, clothing and shoes for adults and boys and girls of all ages.

For baby, four gowns, four barrows, two flannel bands, twelve napkins, three vests, and a cot blanket; for mother, two nightgowns, woollen shawl, three towels, two sheets, and a pair of pillow cases.

Growing plants, flowers and branches for all our centres and for the L.C.C. schools. We should be grateful to friends who would supply us regularly. We also need vegetables and fruit.

More cupboards are needed at all our centres.

Nurse needs empty medicine bottles at her dispensary.

Health Talks to Mothers are held the first and third Fridays in the month at 3 p.m., at the Mothers' Arms.

CHANDOS HALL—(Continued from Column 2).

should be granted as the fundamental right of manhood and womanhood.

For many years before the War he had maintained that one of the greatest fights of democracy would be to break down the autocratic and reactionary administration of laws secured for the people only after great effort and sacrifice and when long overdue. Instances of this are to be seen in the administration of the Naval and Military pensions and allowances, in which the real desire and intention of Parliament is thwarted, medical treatment for the people, housing, the feeding of school children, and the administration of factory and mines Acts.

Mr. Richardson concluded with a word of appreciation for the Workers' Suffrage Federation for all the work it had done, but especially for its insistent appeal to the people to work out their own salvation.

Mrs. Rosa Hobhouse said that crime, disease, poverty and trade rivalry must not be regarded as necessary evils. They lead to other evils, punishment, surgery, patronage, and diplomacy, armies and navies and war. These evils must give way to common ownership, i.e., Socialism, common control, *i.e.*, Adult Suffrage, common sympathy.

MISS MABEL LAWRENCE ON SOCIALISM.

Miss Mabel Lawrence gave a most interesting address on the history of Socialism in Great Britain at the Women's Hall, Bow, on Friday, October 27th. Those present hope to hear her again.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

POPULATION QUESTION & BIRTH CONTROL.—Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster, S.W.

WANTED, LEARNER for East London Toy Factory.—Apply, 45 Norman Road, Bow, E.

EX-HOSPITAL NURSE seeks LIGHT EMPLOYMENT.—Apply, 400 Old Ford Road, E.

FRENCH LADY, widow, speaks and writes English, seeks WORK, not clerical.—Apply, Box 10, this Office.

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